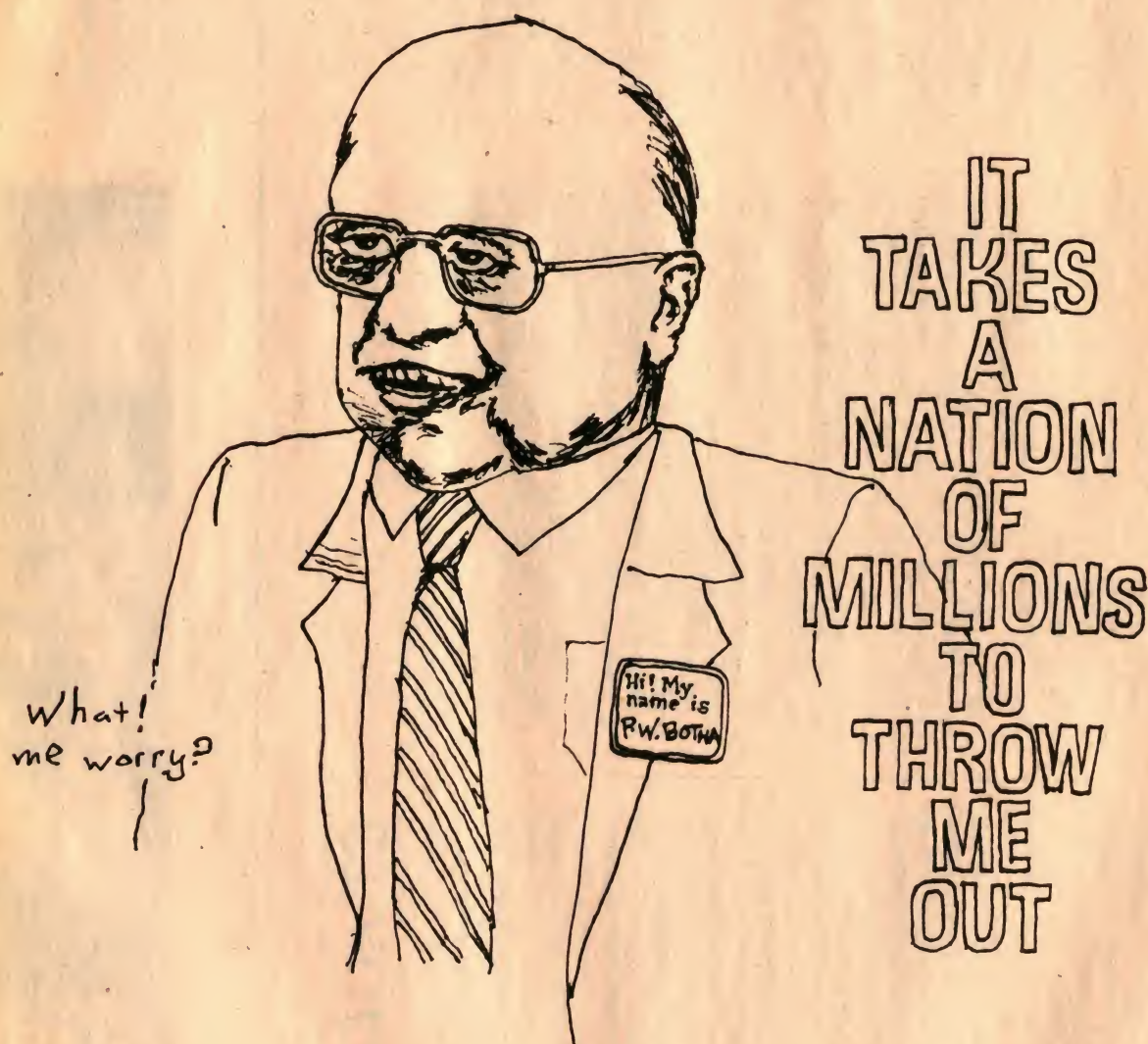


hermes

By the students, faculty, alumni/ae
of Wesleyan University
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... SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IS A ROAD SELDOM TRAVELLED BY THE MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS (AND UNIVERSITIES)...

Long-Delayed Trial for Hartford 15 Begins

By Andy Russell

This past Tuesday, in Hartford Federal Court, opening arguments were heard in the trial of five Puerto Rican independence activists part of the group called the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15. Jury selection began early last month for seven of the defendants who are accused of being members of Los Macheteros, an underground organization fighting for the liberation of Puerto Rico from US rule. There are sixteen defendants, fifteen Puerto Ricans and one U.S. American who is not part of the fifteen. The seventeen count indictment claims that the defendants helped Victor Gerena steal over \$7 million from the Wells Fargo Company in 1983, in order to fund the activities of Los Macheteros.

The defendants were arrested in 1985 in what amounted to a FBI invasion of the island, complete with over 400 heavily armed agents and helicopters. Most were denied bail for 16 months under the 1984 Bail Reform Act, which gives federal judges the power to deny bail to those prisoners whom they deem dangerous. Two of the defendants, Juan Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios, were denied bail for over two and a half years, despite the fact that neither has a criminal record. They were only released this spring, after setting a record for the longest pre-trial detention in US history.

The lengthy delay in bringing this case to court has been the result of defense attempts to challenge the main evidence with which the government hopes to gain a conviction: hundreds of hours of taped conversations, which the defense insists were done in blatant violation of federal wiretapping laws.

This summer, Judge T. Emmet Claire ruled on two major defense challenges. In his first decision, he ruled in favor of the defendants' claim that the FBI had failed to seal the tapes within the one day time limit, in some cases waiting as long as two months before doing so. The judge had no choice but to throw out the tapes, severely damaging the government's case against nine of the defendants, including Ojeda Rios. The prosecution may be forced to drop the charges against the nine, and has chosen to appeal the judge's ruling, delaying the start of their trial (if there

is any) for up to another year. Meanwhile, the government has gone ahead with the trial of the remaining seven.

In his ruling on the other defense challenge, Judge Claire ruled that the remainder of the tapes could be used as evidence. He ignored the proof that the FBI had violated the accused's rights to privacy during the wiretapping, because it was compiled by Luz Berrios Berrios, one of the defendants and wife of Juan Segarra Palmer. She had studied the evidence against her and the others, and discovered that the FBI had violated several laws. In order for taped evidence to be admissible, the agents doing the taping must record everything they overhear but they may only listen to conversations directly relating to the case they are investigating. In order to comply with the law they are allowed three second spot checks to determine if the conversation is relevant to the investigation.

By analyzing the FBI's surveillance method Luz Berrios Berrios was able to prove that the FBI agents were continually monitoring their conversations; the surveillance was conducted without regard to the content. The agents used a surveillance technique where they taped not only the conversations of the defendants, but also tuned their own television set or radio to the same station as the people they were listening to, and recorded that as well. They did this in order to differentiate, at a later date, between the accused's conversations and the television or radio. The defendants proved that the FBI had an uncanny ability during the random spot checks to predict what shows the subjects would be watching—such an amazing ability, in fact, that the only possible explanation is that the agents were listening the entire time and only taping occasionally to give a veneer of legality.

During the course of the pre-trial hearings FBI agents contradicted themselves as to how they pulled this off. One agent, Tyler Morgan, even admitted that he had lied in court to cover up this illegal activity. However, Judge Claire refused to examine the veracity of the defense's claims, and threw out the challenge on the grounds that the bulk of the proof of the FBI's misdoings had been provided through the work of one of the defendants. These

tapes are the prosecution's primary evidence against the remaining seven defendants.

In addition to the violation of the defendant's right to privacy and the use of preventive detention, the accused have also been denied the right to an impartial jury of their peers. The defendants, under federal rules, have the right to trial in their home district: Puerto Rico. Instead, they will stand trial over 1,500 miles from home and the trial will be conducted in a language which many of them do not completely understand. The judge also ruled this summer that the jury pool, which is being drawn from New Haven to try to avoid the enormous publicity that has been generated in Hartford, will be kept anonymous and that they will be escorted to and from their homes by federal marshals, to protect the jurors from attack or threats by Los Macheteros. The judge, however, insists that this will not in any way prejudice the jurors against the defendants.

Two more developments have further complicated the case. Two weeks before the start of the trial, the FBI arrested Ojeda Rios again, this time on charges stemming from the original arrest, when he shot an FBI agent who was among those who came to capture him. Ojeda Rios was taken back to Puerto Rico to stand trial for the offense of defending himself against the FBI, who have been known to shoot suspects instead of arresting them. In Puerto Rico, he was detained at the Roosevelt Roads Naval Base, chained to his hospital bed. Ojeda Rios, who had open-heart surgery while imprisoned in Hartford during his first pre-trial detention, has again been denied bail. He refused to accept food or medical treatment until the chain was removed and until he was moved to a civilian prison or declared a political prisoner. Because of this, he was transferred to Manhattan Correctional Center in New York, where he currently is being held. Ojeda's re-arrest took place only two days before he was to speak at a rally being held on his behalf.

In the other major development, Paul Weinberg, the
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Following the Rainbow

Hermes Interview with Andrew Kopkind

Andrew Kopkind is an associate editor of the Nation magazine; he spent five months this past spring covering the Jackson campaign. Kopkind will speak on "The Rainbow Coalition: Present Image, Future Visions" on Wednesday, October 12 in the CAAS Lounge at 4 p.m. This interview was conducted by Stacey Rouse and David Morrison.

Hermes: Do you know what Jackson's strategy is now?

Kopkind: About three weeks ago some of the Jackson people and Jackson himself in kind of a cautious way were talking about trying to save the Dukakis campaign. A: whether it would be at all possible and B: whether that would be a good thing for them to do. I think that there were no hard and fast answers to either of those questions but I think that what happened was a decision to do as much as Jackson and the Jackson group, and I use that kind of loosely because he doesn't control all of the people in his campaign, would do what they could and in fact step up their efforts, particularly but not exclusively in voter registration. The idea is that not only would that help the Dukakis campaign in specific areas, but would help to build a base for further campaigns.

Hermes: For Jackson's campaign?

Kopkind: Well, for Jackson and for other rainbow, other Black, and other progressive campaigns. At the end of the convention in Atlanta Jackson and some other people gave what was an interesting strategic talk to the Jackson Delegates in which they basically laid out the strategy for the next four years—city by city, year by year, state by state, congressional district by congressional district—what had to be done, what could be expected and what were the limitations. I think Jackson was very

disappointed; he feels rather betrayed by the Dukakis campaign, which did in fact make a bargain in the days before the convention started and didn't really stick with it. I get the impression that at best Jackson has mixed feelings about whether he wants Dukakis to win or not.

Hermes: Well, what kind of support is he getting for voter registration in the Democratic party?

Kopkind: Well, very tardily the Dukakis campaign gave them under a half a million dollars, which is a drop in the bucket. It isn't even a secret; it's common knowledge that the Dukakis campaign never wanted to register any new voters. They structured the whole campaign so that there would not be any voter registration effort by giving all that money that Bob Farmer the Dukakis fundraiser raised, like fifteen million dollars or something, giving it all to state parties which then became the Dukakis campaign. These people especially have absolutely no interest in expanding the base because if they expanded the base in any direction it would be an insurgent direction and they would be out on their asses and they don't want to do that; if it comes to their own asses and Dukakis-Bentsen it's not hard to see which they'll choose. So they don't want to have a minority progressive-populist-rainbowish mass of new voters upsetting the political status quo.

The Democratic Party elite doesn't want to register more voters. In early 1987, just after Dukakis's inaugural for his third term as Governor, John Sasso, his political director, wrote the famous memo which told Dukakis to run for President and told him how he could win. The assumption of that strategy was that they would accept the shape, size, color, taste, feel and smell of the whole electorate of Jan 1, 1987. By doing this they determined that their strategy would be to move the so-called Reagan

Democrats, the conservative White racist Democrats, from column R to Column D; it would not be to expand the party or build on a populist campaign and on a class campaign. And their campaign up until last week has really been based on that assumption. As an assumption, you can say that it had a certain internal logic but it had no external logic as far as I can tell because, as Harry Truman once said, given a choice between a Republican and a Republican the American people will always choose the Republican.

Hermes: You talked about social security and daycare as parts of Jackson's agenda that Dukakis adopted, or is considering adopting. What other parts of Jackson's agenda is Dukakis adopting?

Kopkind: The essential message of the Jackson campaign was economic justice; that is to reverse the project of Reaganism. The Jackson campaign posed itself as the antithesis to Reaganism in terms of Reaganism's class project which was to feed the rich and starve the poor. An important event was the vote at the Democratic convention on a reverse of the Reagan tax program, which was called by the media "tax the rich." Part of the deal was that the Dukakis people would let the issue come to the floor of the convention, because they can manipulate the rules as they have a majority. Then when it got to the floor of the convention the Dukakis people imposed discipline on delegates and defeated it. And without that, there was not an economic justice plank.

Dukakis' has a very badly run campaign. Here he is in Greenfield, and within this extremely ideologically oriented, activist community, you have feminists, and peace activists, and union activist, and Solidarity, and new labor
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Clubbing Canada

With U.S. Trade Agreement

By Eve Goldberg

When Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and U.S. President Ronald Reagan signed the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement last January 3, they hailed it as the beginning of a new phase in U.S.-Canada relations. What this trade agreement will mean to many Canadians is the loss of their jobs and will have drastic effects on the Canadian economy. Controversy over the free trade deal has become one of the major issues of the recently called election in Canada.

The pact calls for the elimination, over the next ten years, of all tariffs on goods exchanged between the two countries. In addition, all "non-tariff barriers to trade" will be eliminated, or be subject to heavy tariffs from the other country. "Non-tariff barriers have yet to be defined but is generally thought to include any form of intervention by a government that would give an industry an economic advantage over the same industry in the other country. And finally, Canada will establish a new energy policy under which American consumers of Canadian gas and oil would be treated as Canadians.

One of the most immediate effects of free trade will be the closing of hundreds of branch plants of U.S. companies in Canada. Up until now, heavy tariffs at the Canadian border have made manufacturing in Canada cheaper for many U.S. industries than bringing goods across the border. Elimination of the tariffs will make the branch plants obsolete and costly for American industry, causing the loss of thousands of jobs in Canada. U.S. industries are likely to replace those plants by opening new ones in countries where labor is cheap; the trade agreement is based on profit, not on creating new jobs for Americans and certainly not for Canadians.

Another large area of concern for many Canadians is the designation "non-tariff barriers to trade." This label could encompass any kind of subsidy, loan program, or other assistance to an industry. Over the years, Canada has developed an extensive system of such programs in order to boost domestic industry against the swelling tide of U.S. goods that already swamp the marketplace. The Canadian government sponsors job training and affirmative action programs that employ women and people of color. It controls large corporations, called "Crown corporations", in key sectors of the economy such as oil and gas. Special government marketing boards support Canadian wheat and dairy farmers. Guaranteed loan programs and tax incentives are geared toward particular industries, and encourage diversification in depressed areas such as the Maritime and the Prairie Provinces. Seasonal industries like logging and fishing are supported through subsidy programs. Industries that benefit from any of these programs could be seen as having an "unfair advantage" over their U.S. counterparts, and would be subject to heavy duties from the U.S.

In its struggle to encourage a distinct Canadian identity, the government has also implemented a broad range of programs designed to regulate the Canadian culture industry, including publishing, radio and television. To a large degree, these measures have been successful in fostering local industries and creating a Canadian identity. The "non-tariff barriers" clause could extend to the culture industry, making "Canadianism" itself a bargaining chip in the free trade deal.

Canadian workers have, on the average, better working conditions than American workers. About 40% of work-

ers in Canada are unionized, and labor laws are generally much stronger there than in the U.S. Only one province in Canada has a minimum wage under \$4, and benefits are usually much more extensive, including such things as maternity benefits, extensive workers compensation and unemployment insurance, nationalized health care, child-care assistance, and equal pay for work of comparable worth. All of these programs would come under attack, as they render Canadian industry "less efficient". This has caused some labor leaders to speculate that Canadian industries might even begin to relocate south of the border and bring their goods back into Canada.

The pact will also allow the U.S. unlimited access to Canadian natural resources, which in the past have been



protected by extensive legislation designed to return profits to the areas being mined. And because U.S. consumers of Canadian resources will be treated as if they were Canadian, it will be impossible to enforce priority for Canadians even in times of crisis, such as drought or fuel shortage.

Laws regulating use of pesticides and chemicals will be "harmonized", meaning that the stricter standards in Canada will be lowered to those of the U.S.. While in Canada, agricultural chemicals must pose no "unacceptable risk to...public health, plants, animals, or the environment", U.S. laws call for a weighing the "costs and benefits" of spraying foods.

In a broad sense, the pact will push each country toward specializing in its strongest industry. For the U.S., that is manufacturing, while for Canada that would be exporting natural resources. This type of arrangement will have an unequal effect on the two countries. Manufacturing is much more labor intensive than exporting raw materials. In addition, the raw materials market fluctuates widely, causing an unstable economy, and would cause dependency on the U.S. economy.

In Canada, the deal has gained support from many Canadian industries because it will allow them to argue for the elimination of many of their higher costs that make them less efficient and leave them behind in the competition with American industries, such as benefits to workers and government regulation. In addition, many industries

believe that access to a large market such as the U.S. will spur economic growth in Canada, much the way economic growth resulted from the elimination of tariffs in the European Economic Community in the 50's and 60's.

The business community has found itself up against a wide range of community and political groups including labor, women's, church, environmental, and disarmament groups. The groups have formed such coalitions as the Coalition Against Free Trade in Toronto, and the national ProCanada Network.

The deal has already been approved in both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, and the Canadian Parliament, which is dominated by Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative (PC) Party. Its last hurdle is the Canadian Senate, which operates much like the House of Lords in England. Because members are appointed to life terms, the Senate is filled with aging Liberal Party members appointed during the Trudeau years. The Liberal Senate vowed to stall the vote on free trade until a general election was called.

The election was called last week for November 21. The Progressive Conservative Party waited until polls showed they were leading in popularity before venturing to call the election. It appears clear that the PCs will lose seats in the election. But whether they will lose enough seats to force a re-vote on the free trade deal scheduled to be implemented January 3, 1989 remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, the Liberal Party is itching for the chance to make free trade an election issue. John Turner, leader of the Liberals has called for a public debate specifically on free trade, in which Brian Mulroney has refused to participate.

But the best hope for Canada lies in the progressive New Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP, although it has never won an election, has been extremely influential as an opposition party in keeping progressive issues at the fore of Canadian politics. The NDP in the past year has been more popular than ever in its history, claiming up to 30% in the polls. Rather than making free trade the only issue of the election, NDP leader Ed Broadbent is campaigning on a broad platform that calls for implementation of social programs at all levels of government.*

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Cover drawing by
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Meetings:

Hermes meetings are held every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. in the *Hermes* office, second floor of the Housing Office, 190 High St. Anyone interested is welcome.

Coeducation of Frats Put on Wesleyan's Back Burner

By Heather Rhoads

"The time has come for the all-male residential fraternities at Wesleyan to admit women to full membership," determined the Residential Life Task Force in the spring of 1987. Now, one and a half years after the report was published, the existing all-male fraternities have come no closer to coeducation.

"Wesleyan stands for full equality of opportunity and access to everything Wesleyan has to offer," said Task Force member David Morgan, History Professor. "Fraternities are a contradiction of that value."

Not only is the University violating its own non-discriminatory policy by allowing them to exist, it is actually endorsing fraternities' behavior and policies by directly subsidizing them and granting them special housing status.

Fraternities at Wesleyan link back to the beginnings of the university, to the period when "white male dominance" feeling prevailed. They were almost abolished in the mid-sixties because of discrimination against black and Jews. Now they only officially discriminate against women.

Yet by becoming a coeducational institution in 1968, the University adopted the principle that women are "the intellectual and social equals of men and therefore entitled on its campus to an equal learning and living experience." Although times have changed, the male-dominant fraternities haven't.

"We knew the fraternities would be at least reluctant," Morgan said. According to Morgan, the fraternities have been "dragging their feet at every step."

Of the five Wesleyan all-male fraternities, Beta Theta Pi, Chi Psi, Delta Kappa Epsilon, Delta Tau Delta and Psi Upsilon, only Delta Tau Delta has women boarders. Psi-U's constitution has a non-discriminatory clause on the basis of sex, race or religion, but Wesleyan's chapter remains single-sex. According to Psi-U President Thomas Diascro, there are no women interested in becoming members.

"No women have tried to rush," Diascro said. "We are against having a strict coed quota, and we're not happy with the fact that [the administration] may set a quota."

Not many females would voluntarily want to live in a sexist environment. According to Dean of Student Life Denise Darrigand, the Task Force researched this side of the issue through surveys. "A number of women at that

point expressed an interest in living in that kind of housing," she said. "I think there is an assumption that if women became members, the nature of the groups would change."

Three fraternities on campus do allow women members: Alpha Delta Phi, Eclectic and Omega Kappa Alpha. "Women began living in the house because it made no sense not for them to be boarders," said Alpha Delta President Gordon Agness '89, "then they became members because it made no sense for them not to be."

Even though Alpha Delta's international organization is against coeducation, women have been members at Wesleyan since 1972. The relations with international chapter are tense right now, Agness said, because the coed charters have been told they will be revoked in 1990. "It's hard to say if this will really happen," Agness said. "In my opinion, there's a real chance for mediation."

Beta, Chi Psi, DKE and Delta Tau Delta all have single sex international organizations; their chapters at Wesleyan would risk similar threats if they began including women as members.

Alpha Delta's alumni support is 100 percent at this time, according to Agness, although he admitted there was a "painful" period of adjustment. "It wasn't easy for us, and I don't think it would be easy for anyone else," he said.

Morgan said the Task Force did take alumni reactions into consideration. "We knew they would need to have this decision carefully explained to them," he said. "The administrators who have to deal with alumni indicated they were willing to accept the flak they might get because it was a good cause."

Chi Psi President Tom Irwin '89 pleaded the freedom of association. "Our frat is against coeducation," Irwin said. "We don't have anything against women, we just think we have the right for a group of guys to live together, like the Womanist House and Malcolm X House."

Although the Task Force admitted that "the right of association is an important right, not lightly to be denied any student," it concluded that fraternities no longer have the right to exclude women.

According to Morgan, the decision to coeducate did not apply to the black fraternities and sororities or the Womanist House. "The fact that nothing was said about the others does not endorse their policies," Morgan said. "Discriminations by women against men and discrimina-

tions by minority groups—less privileged against more privileged—is a different kind of an issue which we didn't address."

Many students said they couldn't see fraternity coeducation happening. "Forcibly converting them is not a solution," Steve Schwartz '89 said. "Brothers need to want to be with each other, and to say they have to admit people who they don't want is a crack in their structure."

Jennifer Wasserstein '90 also said she thought coeducation was not a good solution. "I'd rather see frats not exist than be coed," Wasserstein said. "I think frats become the areas of focal attention because they hold all the social events. If the houses weren't frats, [the people who lived there] could still have parties. If there were just living areas, social situations could come out of that. But it doesn't have to be under three Greek letters."

"Coeducation won't make frats non-sexist," Wasserstein said. "It's almost their token thing. It's a problem for me saying they're sexist because a lot of the men I know in them aren't. But the labeled group fosters more sexism. Just not to have frats would help solve the problem."

Controversy surrounding the all-male fraternities at Wesleyan is nothing new. In the April 19, 1985 issue of the *Argus*, the editorial stated, "...the continued endorsement by the administration of these organizations is hypocritical because it directly contradicts the non-discriminatory policy of Wesleyan. It is time to end the explicit policy of approval practiced by the administration and to disassociate ourselves from these inherently sexist organizations."

Last year a campus organization developed out of anger at fraternities' activities. Nina Karnovsky '89, who helped coordinate BAMBI (Banish Abusive Male Bonding Institutions), said the group stimulated a lot of support and interest. But because the meetings were open to everyone and widely publicized, fraternity brothers began "infiltrating" the meetings, and the organization eventually folded. Not much could be accomplished with brothers present, but the group was also initially divided between two interests. Some supported coeducation while others wanted to abolish fraternities altogether.

One of the events that led to the formation of BAMBI occurred during initiation last fall. On Nov. 16, 1987, Julie Chasen '88 was harassed by men in hooded robes, with painted faces and carrying sticks as she tried to cross Wyllys Avenue, returning home from the music studios.

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Piecing Together Lives, Hope

By David Morrison

On October 8 and 9, the NAMES Project displayed the AIDS Memorial Quilt on the Ellipse in Washington D.C. Over 8,000 individual panels, each commemorating the life of one person who has died of AIDS, were spread out over the ground between the White House and the Washington Monument. Between sunup and sundown, hundreds of people quietly mourned, contemplated, celebrated and considered the impact of AIDS.

The Quilt serves many purposes. Each panel was created by people who were in some way touched by the loss of someone to AIDS. Many were made in groups of several people: lovers, friends, family of the person who died. They are stitched together, using linen, shirts, leather, flags or fabric, and bear tribute to this nation's loss. "To my brother Greg the angel." "Duane was my best friend." "To the best Dad in the world." In this sense the Quilt helps the healing process as people

affected by AIDS deal with their loss.

The enormity of the display helps to show the country how significant the AIDS epidemic is. As of September 19, 1988, over 72,000 people in this country have been diagnosed with AIDS. Over 25,000 people have died. The 8,000 panels displayed in Washington begin to convey a sense of the absence of all those people in human terms, and not as statistical data.

To better explain the significance of the people who have died, friends, lovers and relatives read the names of people they knew who had died. All day long an endless list of names was delivered to the crowd. The background of those who read names varied; some were panel makers, some were parents, some were care takers and some were people with AIDS themselves. A few were famous but most were not. All shared the agony of losing someone to AIDS. Their loudspeaker announcements, in strong and broken voices, reached everyone.*

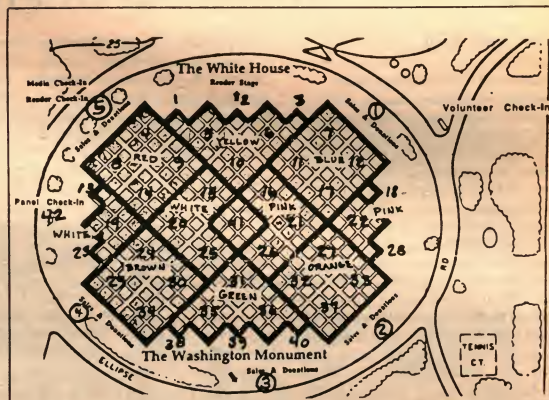


photo by David Morrison



photo by David Morrison

ANC: An Evolving Organization

By Todd Shepard

As the struggle to get Wesleyan to fully divest continues, it is important to realize that this is merely a small part of the greater struggle to free South Africa from apartheid. It is in southern Africa itself that the heart of the battle is being waged. One of the groups most prominent in this struggle is the African National Congress (ANC).

The ANC was founded on January 8, 1912 in Bloemfontein, South Africa, only two years after the creation of the Union of South Africa. Its purpose was to end the domination of South Africa by the white minority composed of Afrikaans and English. Seventy-six years later this remains the aim of the oldest national liberation movement in the world and the oldest political organization in South Africa.

For its first 49 years the ANC was dedicated to non-violent struggle. It used boycotts, demonstrations, strikes and other non-violent tactics to oppose pass laws, racism, and the lack of black voting rights. In spite of this long struggle the political situation got worse. In 1948 the newly formed Nationalist party won the elections and began to implement their policy of apartheid—"separateness", that is, legally instituted racism. This ended the facade that white domination was merely a "trusteeship" until blacks were ready to fully participate; it was clearly a move towards permanent white superiority. In 1960 the Republic of South Africa was declared, and the six parliament seats reserved for white representatives of the black population were abolished, thus ending the last vestiges of black participation. In 1961, after the Sharpeville massacre where 67 blacks participating in a peaceful demonstration were killed by the police, the ANC was banned; that is, it was made illegal. It could not organize, it could not be mentioned in the press, and membership in it was illegal. This was in

spite of the ANC's continued commitment to non-violence.

One year later, on Dec. 16, 1961, the ANC created Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), as an armed wing of the Congress. The ANC then accepted the use of force, if necessary, as part of the struggle to free South Africa. The founder of Umkhonto was Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC.

In 1963 he along with other members of Umkhonto were arrested by the South African government. In his trial he defended the ANC's decision to create Umkhonto. Mandela stated "we believed that as a result of government policy, violence by the African people has become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism. . . we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to success in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence."

Though the ANC did finally decide to accept the use of force in the struggle, "...the violence we [the ANC] chose was not terrorism." (Nelson Mandela) Up until about three years ago, no ANC attack was made on non-military targets. Many ANC lives were lost and opportunities missed in this effort to avoid civilian bloodshed. But the South African government showed no such restraint. Thousands of blacks have been killed by the

South African Defense forces. Numerous ANC officials and sympathizers have been assassinated by South African agents abroad. In response, the ANC was finally forced to admit that non-military targets would have to be considered in order to further the struggle.

Today, the main aim of Umkhonto we Sizwe is to bring the violence out of all black ghettos into the white suburbs. The hope is that when white South Africans realize that not only blacks in far away townships can die from bullets and bombs that they will reconsider the apartheid system which has caused the violence.

The current head of Umkhonto we Sizwe is Joe Slovo, a Lithuanian emigrant who is the only white on the ANC's central committee. Slovo, who is banned in South Africa and is one of the government's favorite villains, is also head of the small Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).

While less than half of the ANC's central committee are members of the CPSA, the alleged Communist domination is used to vilify the ANC, both within South Africa and abroad (by people like Ronald Reagan and Jesse Helms seeking to discredit the ANC by such tactics). In fact, the U.S. State Department has found that the CPSA does not dominate the ANC. The ANC's main leaders, such as Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, are non-Communists. However, there is great sympathy both in South Africa and the ANC for the Communist party. The CPSA was, until it was banned, the only white party to call for a completely non-racial political system in South Africa. White communists represented black votes in Parliament until these were abolished in 1960. However, there was also a large movement that rejected communist domination of the ANC as well as cooperation with non-Africans. This was especially significant in the founding of the ANC Youth League in the late '40s, of which

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Marge Piercy Draws Appreciative Crowd

By Eileen Mullin

As part of the Alpha Delt Lecture Series, Novelist Marge Piercy gave an hour-long poetry reading at Wesleyan on Thursday, September 29. Piercy spoke before a packed audience of over 100 students at Alpha Delt; she read from her most recent volume of poetry, *Available Light*, along with a number of her better-known earlier poems.

The topics Piercy touched upon during her reading included coming to terms with one's parents, taking time to appreciate everyday pleasures, and relating to nature. Piercy evoked laughter from her audience by reading several poems that were rather absurdist, such as "Attack of the Squash People," which describes the plight of desperate gardeners burdened by an overabundance of zucchini. The audience also responded warmly to Piercy's observations in "Taking a Hot Bath" and "Cats Like Angels" about how we perceive our bodies. Among the most compelling poems were "Do Not Erect the Wall Before Yourself," on the human will to surmount the regimes of terror in South Africa and elsewhere, and "Right to Life." Piercy's now-classic poem countering the presumptions made about women's bodies and rights to reproductive choice. Piercy prefaced "Right to Life" by commenting how she longs for the day when "it will require footnotes to understand." After the poetry reading, Piercy expressed her worry that this country's hard-fought abortion rights will "go down the drain" if George Bush is elected President.

Piercy has recently completed work on her latest novel, *Summer People*. *Summer People* depicts "the interactions that are typical of most resort communities, the people who live there and the people who come in the summer," according to Piercy. The novel will be published by Summit Press.



Programming DNA for Profit

By Brian Shott

Bioengineering, biotechnology, genetic engineering—whatever you call it, messing with genes is both a fascinating and terrifying reality. By recombining DNA, the laboratory can be the birthplace of new forms of life, from simple microbes to frost resistant plants—even whole new species. Bioengineering can give us new drugs for fighting disease, or military weapons to fight with disease. And just as the military influences research in the physical sciences, big business has seized the money making potential of DNA. Research now falls into categories showing the most market value, not necessarily those having the greatest benefit for society.

When the genetic "code" was broken and genes could be recombined and transferred, businesses viewed the new technology like any other commercial interest—a market to be exploited. Since genes are not transistors or computer chips and are natural programs, the result of millions of years of evolution, many felt that they should not be tampered with, fearing the release of dangerous new microorganisms into the environment. Others felt that any genetic manipulation should be done with the idea of continuing the natural processes of life on the planet as a whole.

They were too late. The commercialization of genetics is well under way. In 1985 there were over 200 U.S. companies directly involved with bioengineering; now there are over 300 biotechnology firms. New drugs and vaccines, farm products, and industrial applications are all possible with biotechnology, and there

is big money to be made in these areas.

As corporate influence grows, public input in the direction of bioengineering has decreased. In fact, the public has even less involvement in bioengineering than in another scientific industry with similar potential for danger, the nuclear energy industry. However ineffective the Nuclear Regulatory Commission is, it is at least in theory a publicly responsive agency, a change from when regulation was entirely within the military sector. Little if any such regulatory control exists in genetic engineering. Institutional Biosafety Committees (I.B.C.'s) and National Institute of Health guidelines have been consistently weakened to make way for the corporate development of recombinant DNA.

Recently the links between the corporate and academic world have grown. Agreements between universities and biotechnology companies flourish. Some of these contracts are more binding than others, but it seems obvious that more and more scientists will move into the private sector. In a society so obsessed with profit and ownership, it should come as no surprise that new forms of life can be patented under existing law (Supreme Court, *Diamond vs. Chakrabarty*, 1980). This combination of patents, corporations, and universities should mean the increasing secrecy of scientific ideas, and even less public knowledge about the direction of research and development in biotechnology.

For these reasons it's hardly surprising that much of the current work in bioengineering is misguided and sometimes dangerous. For example, biotechnology can help in the development of vaccines

to fight disease. Companies that work in these areas look for drugs to combat the Western industrial world's high rates of heart disease, strokes, and cancer. This view overlooks many diseases like malaria, which kills hundreds of millions—especially children in less "developed" countries. Work on a malaria vaccine has been rejected in the past by one biotech corporation as "inconsistent with market strategy."

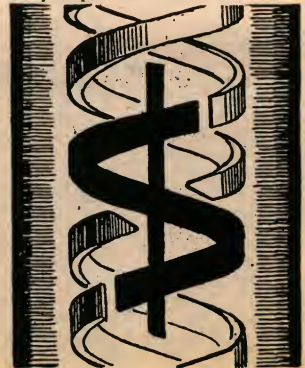
And don't expect more healthy foods from biotechnology. Currently many "junk food" companies are using recombinant DNA to make artificial flavors and fragrances mimicking the taste and smell of baked food. Frito-Lay tried to genetically alter potatoes to hold 50% less water—not to increase nutritional value, but because lighter potatoes would cut transportation costs.

One of the most recent and disturbing uses of bioengineering (aside from continued military interest in biological weapons) relates to farming with herbicides. Farming today requires using vast amounts of pesticides and herbicides; over \$4 billion was spent in the U.S. to control weeds last year. Municipal and well water supplies across the country are being contaminated from the many chemicals used in farming. Crops have been developed for high productivity and quick growing at the expense of their natural resistance to pests. Biotechnology has the potential to develop new plants with better natural resistance, making it possible to break away from farming with so many chemicals.

But some chemical companies make huge profits from their pesticides and herbicides and have found a way of using

biotech to ensure these markets in the future. Herbicides don't just kill weeds—they also damage the crops they're supposed to protect. So one company, Monsanto, has genetically engineered a strain of the seed plant canola, making it more resistant to Roundup, their bestselling herbicide. Over 30 companies are doing the same thing in hopes of selling farmers a seed-and-chemical package, matching their herbicides with specific crops. One of the herbicides targeted for this process, Atrazine, has been found in drinking water supplies and is expected to be hazardous to humans.

Bioengineering has brought benefits to society, but the market determines the goals of this new technology. As long as profits can be made and public input is unheard, corporations will use this technology to their advantage—often at society's expense.*



A History of Wesleyan's Divestment Movement

By Debra Loevy

Ten years ago a member of the Wesleyan Board of Trustees told student divestment advocates that "University policy depends only on financial criteria; morals confuse the issue too much." (*Hermes*, 3/2/78) The current Board of Trustees believes that Wesleyan's new divestment policy is both morally and fiscally correct. Many student activists are frustrated, however, because they believe that the trustees still hold the same attitudes they held ten years ago. Rather than taking a clear moral stand on divestment, Wesleyan is giving aid and comfort to the apartheid regime in South Africa by stalling and dragging its feet.

The policy adopted by the Board of Trustees at their May 1988 meeting states that American companies should withdraw from South Africa unless they provide extraordinary assistance to blacks. Categories of such assistance include black empowerment and black community development. Companies can be considered exempt from withdrawal if they meet the highest rating, category I, under the "Statement of Principles" for American companies doing business in South Africa. The University has divested all stock in companies with category II and III ratings.

The Social Implications Sub-Committee (SISC) of the Investment Committee of the Board of Trustees is charged with the responsibility for judging which companies, if any, qualify for exception by these standards. The SISC's voting members are two students, two faculty, the Treasurer of the University, and some members of the Board. The SISC reports the results of its deliberations to the Investment Committee and in turn to the Board of Trustees for approval at their general meetings. Student and faculty members of the SISC attend the Board meetings and may speak, but do not have a vote.

Companies eligible for consideration of exception have been sent a questionnaire on their South African operations, and will be visited by David Hauck of the Investor Responsibility Research Center. The IRRRC is an independent organization that researches and reports on conditions in South Africa and the involvement of American companies there. The IRRRC is scheduled to report the results of research conducted for Wesleyan to the SISC at the November meeting.

If a company is judged unworthy of exception, Wesleyan will sponsor a shareholder resolution at that company's next annual shareholder meeting, calling on them to withdraw from South Africa. If the resolution fails, the stock will be divested. If, however, the company has had previous unsuccessful shareholder resolutions, Wesleyan may immediately divest.

Divest Now! was not satisfied with this new policy, and rejects the notion that any company can be a progressive force. Groups on campus have struggled to end financial support to the apartheid regime and to create awareness about conditions in southern Africa. The longest standing anti-apartheid organization at Wesleyan is the Southern Africa Action Group, formerly known as the South African Action Group. SAAG's strategies for promoting change in southern Africa and at Wesleyan have varied in the past decade. SAAG's first confrontational protest was in 1978. That April, SAAG members organized a march from Fisk Hall to the Science Library. At a following rally speakers discussed the situation in South Africa. Later that same month, 20 SAAG members conducted a 90 hour sit-in at former President Campbell's office. The sit-in began after Campbell refused to sign a list of SAAG's demands concerning the mandate and composition of an ad-hoc committee established to evaluate the divestment issue: the Committee to Investigate Investment Policy (CIIP). A SAAG spokesman claimed that the committee mandate was a "collection of vague and ineffectual statements," and that "their ambiguity leaves open the possibility of dangerous interpretation." (*Argus*, 4/14/78) The entire process was run on the consensus of all the members of SAAG. The protest ended when a compromise was reached.

For the next few years, SAAG's main focus was education. The group sponsored movies, speakers, and informational sessions about the situation in South Africa. SAAG organized letter writing campaigns and consistently wrote articles for campus newspapers.

In the early 1980's Wesleyan made what SAAG considered minor improvements in the investment policy. Companies with South African links were investigated. In 1980, the school divested from SoCal and Citibank. In 1984 Wes divested from Newmont Mining. In 1983 the Franklin Research and Development Corporation con-

cluded that Wesleyan's non-South African-related investments were more successful than Wesleyan's investments in companies doing business in South Africa. (*Argus*, 9/9/83) The trustees' position had been against divestment for fear that the University would lose money, and this new report gave SAAG a much stronger argument. They could defend their demand for divestment on a moral and financial level.

Protest became prominent again in 1985. Armbands worn in protest were seen around campus, and on the "National Day of Student Protest Against Apartheid" in April of that year, 300 students participated in a rally. SAAG organized 450 students who silently lined High St. as the trustees walked from Downey House to Russell House. A petition with 1600 signatures, 150 of them from faculty members, was given to the board of trustees. SAAG sponsored a "week of education" in September of 1985 to teach about divestment issues, and the week culminated in a boycott of classes. In October 1985, 130 students blockaded North College, demanding an emergency meeting of the Board of Trustees to try and convince the board to set a timetable for divestment. This demand was not met, and there were 130 arrests. An arrest resulted in a \$68 fine and a letter of warning from the SJB. The next month WSA voted 20-1 to urge the trustees to divest.

The University's policy changed during the winter of 1986. The Board of Trustees had conducted a six-month review on Wesleyan's South African investments. A Divest Now/SAAG publication explains that "The Board defined the 'minimum standards of performance and activity' any corporation must abide by to justify their presence in South Africa. These standards were 'incorporated in the Sullivan Principles. If any corporation did not consent to these standards the University would initiate a 120-day process towards divestment.'" In 1987 SAAG continued to focus on education; the group sponsored speakers and films. SAAG established the Southern African tutorial to try to better understand Southern African realities. Members felt they needed a broad context before they could reach and influence the public.

SAAG was granted permission to speak at SISC meetings, and took advantage of that opportunity to express

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CT ACT OUT Holds First Demonstration: Safe Sex for Prisoners One Issue on Agenda

By Eileen Mullin

The chants of "Meachum says no, we say yes!" filled the air as approximately 25 people formed a picket line across from the state Department of Correction in Hartford on Wednesday, September 28. The protesters were members of Connecticut ACT OUT, a newly-formed direct action organization dedicated to advocacy for gay and lesbian issues. Their chants were directed at Larry Meachum, the Commissioner of the Department of Correction, which has refused to distribute condoms and dental dams to prisoners as a measure of AIDS prevention. Dental dams are thin squares of latex rubber used for protection during oral sex. The demonstration received a good deal of media attention, and undoubtedly increased local awareness of the issue of AIDS prevention for prisoners. CT ACT OUT has challenged the Department of Correction to provide prisoners with these basic AIDS precautions and instructions on use or else be held accountable for the increasing incidence of AIDS in Connecticut's penal system. It is not yet known how Larry Meachum and the Department of Correction will choose to respond.

At 5:15 p.m., the picketers began assembling at the Department of Correction offices at 340 Capitol Avenue in Hartford. The protesters carried signs with a variety of messages on them, including "Protect Don't Neglect," "Condomize the Prisons Now!" and "More Murderers Here than at Somers." A carload of Wesleyan students arrived rather late for the demonstration but were welcomed nonetheless.

CT ACT OUT's spokesperson, Tony Carlo, read aloud the group's press release about the event. He cited figures from the Interim Report of the Governor's Human Services Package that showed there have been 46 cases of AIDS in Connecticut prisons since 1982. In the time since voluntary testing began in the Connecticut prisons in 1986, 800 prisoners have tested HIV positive. HIV stands for Human Immunodeficiency Virus, which is generally

considered the virus that causes AIDS. There probably exist many more Connecticut inmates who are HIV positive, because only a small number of prisoners have agreed to be voluntarily tested. Carlo also reported that according to one source, 60 to 70% of the inmates at Somers prison, one of Connecticut's major correctional facilities, are HIV positive; however, Carlo declined to identify this source. The picketers cheered when Carlo called upon the Department of Correction to "start handing out condoms and stop handing out excuses."

Philadelphia's Mayor Wilson Goode has recently announced that prison inmates in Philadelphia will have condoms made available to them. Prisoners will receive a "safe sex" kit containing condoms and guidelines on their proper use. Additionally, Vermont and several other states have looked into providing prisoners with condoms.



photo by Eileen Mullin

After the demonstration, Carlo told reporters that CT ACT OUT had tried in vain to set up an appointment with Commissioner Meachum to discuss the issue. "Let's face reality. We need action now," said Carlo. He expressed hope that the picket would pressure the Department of Correction to reconsider their policy.

In planning upcoming actions, CT ACT OUT has considered protesting the Catholic Archdiocese of Hartford for its position on homosexuality. On Monday, October 3, Hartford's Catholic Archbishop John F. Whealon publicly criticized the state Department of Health Services' new anti-AIDS campaign. The campaign, which includes television, radio and billboard advertisements, promotes the use of condoms as a precau-

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Beyond Divestment: Broadening

By Nell deMause

There is no doubt that the divestment movement has been one of the most widespread and successful student movements of this decade, as students at hundreds of schools have pressured their schools to sell their stocks in companies with investments in South Africa. Over a hundred colleges, as well as dozens of cities, religious and labor institutions, and several states have now divested themselves of billions of dollars of stock in companies with investments in South Africa.

The impact of the divestment movement, however, has been dulled by corporate maneuvering. Many companies have countered with what has become known as "corporate camouflage"—phony pullouts wherein South African assets are sold to a South African subsidiary which continues licensing and sales agreements with the U.S. company. The parent company continues to make profits from the South African operation, and the affiliate continues to pay taxes to the white South African government. Since 1985, eight of the top twenty U.S. companies in South Africa have enacted some form of phony divestment.

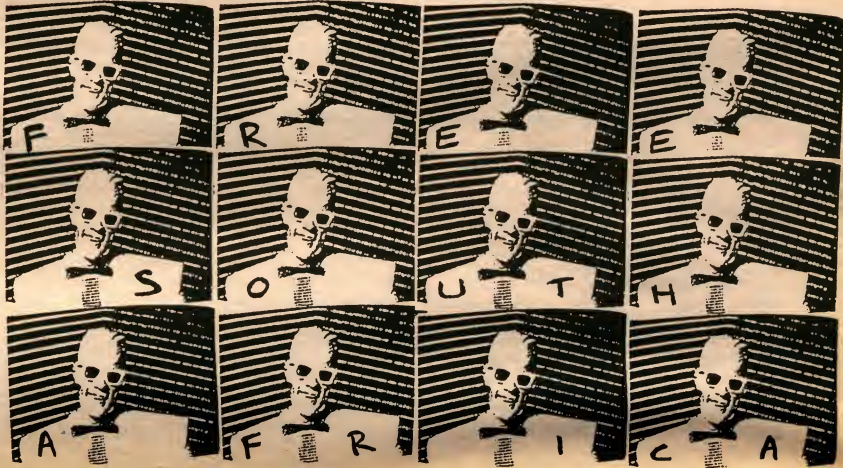
To counteract corporate camouflage, activists have increasingly focused on how indirect, "non-equity" links with South Africa equally uphold apartheid. Saying that "it is essential to distinguish between those corporations for which withdrawal means the termination of all economic ties with South Africa, and those for which withdrawal merely indicates a restructuring of economic relations," a coalition of prominent anti-apartheid groups, including the American Committee on Africa, the American Friends Service Committee, the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility, TransAfrica and the Washington Office on Africa, last year issued guidelines for divestment. These called for the end of all corporate ties with South Africa, including indirect links such as franchise, licensing, or management agreements, and indirect financial ties; only news organizations would be exempted.

Wesleyan claims to have divested from all but ten companies with investments in South Africa. This does not include fourteen companies with indirect ties, as well as one additional company with direct ownership which Wesleyan has not previously disclosed. Wesleyan's new investment policy, adopted last May following the two-week sit-in at South College, urges most companies with non-equity ties to withdraw from South Africa, and calls for shareholder resolutions for withdrawal of these companies from South Africa. (Companies with black-owned subsidiaries and those whose withdrawal would "significantly diminish blacks' access to vital health products"

are exempted.) Apparently, Wesleyan has shown no inclination to divest from companies with indirect ties, though this could possibly be changing. University Treasurer Robert B. Taylor recently suggested that action against companies with non-equity links to South Africa may be "an item for discussion" for the Social Implications Subcommittee (SISC). The SISC report from last May did note that two of its members felt that "The University should treat companies with non-equity ties in

the same way as it does companies with equity holdings." Africa's largest oil refinery, the offshore station through which South Africa imports most of its oil, and more than 800 gas stations in South Africa; Mobil and Caltex (a joint venture of Chevron and Texaco) are the two largest U.S. investors in South Africa, with over \$300 million in assets each.

Furthermore, these companies all supply oil to the South African government and military, as required by



In addition to increasing pressure for full divestment, anti-apartheid activists are increasingly turning to divestment and shareholder resolutions with consumer strategies: boycotts and selective purchasing. By cutting off consumption of products of South Africa-linked companies, activists hope to have an even more direct dollar effect on these corporations than by merely divesting those companies' stocks.

Primary targets have been oil companies, which play an especially integral role in the white South African economy. Royal Dutch/Shell co-owns or operates South

South African law as a condition of operating in that country. "No matter what kind of liberal presence Shell claims to be in South Africa, it cannot escape the fact that its very presence has to aid and abet the apartheid regime," says Ken Zinn of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), which is leading a boycott of Shell products in the U.S. "South Africa has a lot of minerals, but it doesn't have any commercially exploitable oil deposits. So it's totally dependent on the outside world and on these companies for its supply of oil."

The UMWA effort is part of an international campaign targeting Royal Dutch/Shell, the European-based multinational whose annual income exceeds the gross national product of 80% of the world's nations. The boycott was initially called for by the South African National Union of Mineworkers in 1985 after an incident at the Reitspruit coal mine, half-owned by Shell, where miners attending a memorial service for a co-worker were forced back to work at gunpoint, and 86 union shop stewards were fired.

Numerous organizations, including the AFL-CIO, NAACP, National Organization for Women, and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, have endorsed the Shell boycott. Over the past year the World Council of Churches, and the Unitarian, Methodist, and Episcopal Churches all joined the boycott effort. The National Council of Black Mayors and the National Black Caucus of State Legislators have resolved to work to ban purchases of Shell products by government agencies in their cities and states, and to withdraw Shell credit cards issued to government employees.

While Shell is the only strategic company facing a formal boycott, there have been numerous actions against other South Africa-linked oil companies, from shareholder resolutions to letter writing campaigns and civil disobedience at corporate headquarters. The Shell boycott campaign has inspired some groups to take further individual action. This summer the Episcopal Church, which had never before endorsed a boycott of any kind, not only approved a proposed to boycott Shell but decided to boycott all oil companies doing business with South Africa.

Another major boycott targets Coca-Cola. In September 1986, just one month after a coalition of anti-apartheid group had called for a nationwide boycott of Coke products, Coca-Cola announced with much fanfare plans to sell its South African assets to black South Africans. However, Coke has continued to market its product through South African subsidiaries. Coca-Cola continues to dominate the South African soft drink market, with 69% of soft drink sales in that country. According to the Boycott Coke campaign, 40% of Coke's South African profits continue to be turned over to the white South African government as corporate taxes.

Corporate Campaigns Can Lead to Increased Public Awareness

By Nell deMause

In addition to producing an economic effect on South Africa, corporate campaigns are excellent tools for politicizing people who get involved in them by letting them see how their own actions are interwoven with multinational politics. In the campaign to get Citibank to cut its South African ties, Donna Katzin of ICCR recalls, "when we were picketing in front of local branches, people would come up and talk and they would say, Citibank lent \$700 million to South Africa? How come we can't get a mortgage here?"

According to Katzin, "each corporation serves as a case study about how different kinds of links are supportive to apartheid." As the campaign to get Citibank to break its ties with South Africa progressed, activists confronted the various ways in which Citibank supported South Africa: direct investment through its South African subsidiary, credit extended to South Africa, and holdings in Diners Club South Africa, among others. At a recent Citibank shareholder meeting, Katzin notes, eight and a half percent of the shareholders voted for Citibank to discontinue its correspondent banking ties with the First National Bank of South Africa. "I'm sure that a year ago 99% of these people, including the institutions, wouldn't have had any idea of what a corresponding banking tie was."

Perhaps more importantly, confronting corporations doing business in South Africa on a regular basis has given many people a deeper understanding of the motivations and politics of multinational economics. "The ques-

tion that keeps getting raised is, why are the corporations there, what do they get out of it?" says Katzin. "Everybody knows that big corporations do things to make money. On the other hand, it's important to keep in mind that in spite of the situation, in the face of the tremendous deaths and repression in South Africa, in the face of the calls by legitimate black leadership for corporations to leave, in the face of the movements here, money is still the priority, and profits are still the priority. And that those corporations will do anything they can, and spend vast amounts of money, to defend even vaster interests in South Africa."

Neophyte activists also soon discover the source of these vast profits, Katzin says. "You see oil refineries, which are among the best paid in South Africa, but crummy compared to what people make in the rest of the world. And what keeps the wages low? What special breaks do they get for being there? how is it that they're able to be so monstrously profitable? And when they aren't, they leave. I don't think Ford and General Motors left out of the goodness of their hearts; they left because the bottom fell out of the South African auto market."

There is also a growing movement to organize across issues, especially in terms of drawing links between apartheid in South Africa and racism in the U.S. The D.C. Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (DC-SCAR) works with community groups on a campaign to get local banks to withdraw banking ties with South Africa and extend loans to low-income communities in the U.S. "The two groups that we do the most with are MARI,

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the Anti-Apartheid Movement

Many church and student groups have responded eagerly to the Coke boycott. "It's a real grassroots campaign," says Malkia M'Buzi, a program associate with the American Friends Service Committee South Africa program and coordinator of the Coke boycott. "We felt that it was important to deal with Coke because it's strategically very good. You don't have to have a car to boycott Coke. It's something that anybody and everybody can do."



But while consumer boycotts have some effect, and are an easy way to get people involved on an immediate level, it is the institutional variant of boycotts, selective purchasing and selective contracting, which can have the greatest impact, says Donna Katzin of the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility. "Those contracts are big bucks," she says, "and when you can effect the contract, it's a short, much easier way than trying to accumulate \$10 million worth of pressure through individual purchases."

Over 40 U.S. cities, including nine of the ten largest, along with two states, Maryland and Michigan, have passed some form of selective purchasing legislation. "The effect of these laws, whether they're strongly implemented or not, has been to really make the companies sit up and take notice," says Rob Jones of the American Committee on Africa. "When you combine selective purchasing pressure with the pressure from divestment, that is what really sparked the wave of corporate 'withdrawals' starting back in '86."

Student activists at several schools have organized against the purchase of products from South Africa-linked companies. A boycott of companies doing business in South Africa and Namibia was among the demands of the several hundred Wesleyan students who occupied South College last spring.

While Wesleyan has divested from all oil companies doing business in South Africa as part of its policy of selling strategies—Texaco, divested last spring, was the last to go—it may still be purchasing heating oil provided by such companies. Wesleyan purchased 13,500 barrels of heating oil last year; New Haven's Wyatt Oil supplies the oil used at the power plant, with the New Britain-based Whalco supplying the rest of Wesleyan's heating oil.

Whalco says that it purchases its oil from several sources, including TLC, Hess Northeast, Amoco, Sunoco, J&P, and Belcher, none of which have known ties with South Africa. Wyatt Oil says that it purchases from a variety of sources, including both major oil companies and smaller operations. One of Wyatt's "biggest suppliers," according to the company, is Standard Oil of Ohio (Sohio), which is a subsidiary of British Petroleum, a major South African investor (\$144 million in assets). BP also played a key role in having the U.S. Senate delete from the proposed comprehensive sanctions bill a provision that would have barred foreign oil companies that do business in South Africa from receiving oil, gas or coal leases in the U.S. When the British Embassy threatened to retaliate against U.S. oil company leases in the North Sea should BP's U.S. operation be interfered with, the Senate quickly moved to delete the offending provision.

There are a other ways in which Wesleyan may be

supporting South Africa-linked companies. The Wesleyan Computer Center sells computers made by AT&T, whose Olivetti subsidiary operates in South Africa. And while Wesleyan's most well-known contractor, the Marriott Corporation, sold its South African operations in 1986, Marriott has a national contract with Coca-Cola, and serves Coke beverages, including Minute Maid juices, exclusively at all campus food outlets.

Under heavy lobbying pressure both from multinational oil companies such as Shell and British Petroleum and from the South African government itself, the U.S. Congress recently failed to pass a comprehensive sanctions bill that would have banned all direct and indirect U.S. investment or trade with South Africa. However, there are still hopes that comprehensive sanctions will be passed by

a new Congress next year. And in the meantime, activists will continue to press both divestment and consumer campaigns to keep the pressure on corporations. "I think what we're finding is that when the labor movement, the churches, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and the environmental movement are able to hook up, we are a powerful force to be reckoned with," says Zinn. The Shell campaign, he says, "has done what Bishop Tutu has called on all of us to do, which is enact people's sanctions. It's all well and good for the government to do it, and they should, and there's no substitute for that. But the only way we're going to convince the government to do it is for the people themselves to personally sanction these corporations that are profiting from apartheid."*

Wesleyan's Questionable Investments

The following comprises the most complete list to date of Wesleyan's investments in corporations with direct investments, indirect investments, or loans in South Africa. Information on the common stock investments held by Wesleyan comes from a report prepared by Wesleyan's Treasurer's Office, which is updated as of August 31, 1988. Detailed information on the companies themselves comes from the American Committee on Africa's *United List of U.S. Companies Doing Business in South Africa and Namibia*.

The American Committee on Africa notes "the Unified List is a compilation of existing sources to create a master list of American firms with investments, loans or licensing/franchising agreements in South Africa and Namibia. Those sources include the U.S. government, the Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC), the U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations, and Corporate Data Exchange."

Further information comes from the Africa Fund's extensive correspondence with several hundred companies profiled in this list. Additional information was also obtained from company documents such as Annual Reports, Form 10-Ks and proxy statements and from constant monitoring of reports in the U.S., British and South African financial press."

Companies with equity links, i.e. direct investment, ownership:

American Home Products Corporation: pharmaceutical company with \$30.4 million invested, making it the 15th largest company in terms of assets in South Africa and Namibia. At the end of 1987, it announced plans to leave the area. Also has a distribution agreement with Namibia.

General Cinema Corporation: owns 18.2% of the British-based Cadbury-Schweppes, whose South African subsidiary has over 2,000 employees and sales of \$86.7 million as of 1986. Wesleyan purchased its shares of General Cinema in February 1988.

Hewlett Packard Company: had \$37 million in sales of computers and scientific equipment by its South African subsidiary in 1986.

Johnson & Johnson: pharmaceutical company that ranks 2nd in sales to South Africa with \$490 million in 1986. Has 1,369 South African employees.

Lilly Eli & Co.: pharmaceutical company with 177 South African employees; assets of under \$10 million and sales of less than \$20 million in 1986.

Marsh & McLennan Co. Inc.: owns 33% of an insurance brokerage with 1050 employees in South Africa and Namibia.

Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co. (3M): pharmaceutical company with 1106 South African employees. As of 1983, sales totaled \$73 million; assets total \$26 million.

NCR Corp.: 510 employees in South Africa and Namibia; sales of less than \$50 million worth of computers, with assets under \$60 million.

Pfizer Inc.: 196 employees in South Africa and Namibia. In 1985, sales totaled \$16.5 million and assets totaled \$4.1 million.

Schering-Plough Corp.: this pharmaceutical company sold \$4 million worth of products in 1983; has 167 employees.

Smithkline Beckman Corp.: has 259 employees in

South Africa and Namibia; sold \$17.8 million in 1985.

Companies with non-equity links, i.e. licensing or distribution:

American Express: Provides financial and insurance services. Continues to have licensing agreement with former South African subsidiary American Express Travel Services, and with the South African company Worker Freight Limited. AmEx subsidiary Trade Development Bank had \$10.2 million in outstanding loans to the South African government as of 1985. AmEx owns 60% of Shearson Lehman Hutton, which participated in over \$639 million in loans/underwritings to South Africa from 1972 to 1984.

Coca-Cola Co.: The real thing sold its assets in 1986 but continues to sell its syrup and maintain its leasing agreement with its former subsidiary for both South Africa and Namibia. Coke is the target of a nationwide boycott for its continued ties with South Africa.

Cooper Industries Inc.: sold its interests in 1986 but continues to license the sales of mining and construction equipment via its former subsidiary.

Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC): involved in distribution agreement with AT&T subsidiary Olivetti.

Ford Motor Co.: sold South African operations to Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa in 1987, but continues to lease and sell Ford vehicles to South Africa and Namibia. In 1986, Ford sold about 55,000 cars and trucks to South Africa and Namibia. 20% of Ford vehicles in South Africa are sold to the military. Despite a U.S. ban on sales to the South African military, Ford vehicles continue to be sold to the South African government, including the police and military.

General Electric Co.: sold its South African subsidiary in 1986 but continues leasing and sales agreement. In addition, the company that brings good things to life faces a boycott for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Grace W R & Co.: Continues leasing and sales to former subsidiary, which it sold in 1986.

International Business Machines Corp.: sold South African operations to local management in 1986. The company was renamed International Services Machines (ISM). IBM continues to supply ISM with computers and office equipment.

International Minerals & Chemical Corp.: one of its products is sold to cattle growers in South Africa.

Philip Morris Co. Inc.: sold its South African holdings in 1985, but continues leasing agreement for Philip Morris cigarettes in South Africa.

Procter & Gamble: produces soaps and cosmetics; sold South African subsidiary in 1986 but continues to license its former subsidiary.

Xerox Corp.: sold South African subsidiary in 1987 but continues to license its former subsidiary for sales and service of reprographic and office equipment in South Africa and Namibia.

Loans/Underwritings:

NCNB Corp.: has \$73 million in outstanding loans to South Africa and Namibia as of July 1987, all covered by the debt standstill.

Travelers Corp.: its subsidiary Dillon, Reed & Co. participated in \$437.1 million in loans/ underwritings to South Africa between 1972 and 1984.

The Witless Wisdom of George Bush (and little Danny Q.)

By Brian Kassof

Back in those "malaise" years of the Carter Administration, there occurred an especially embarrassing episode involving the President. While on a trip to Poland, a not terribly competent translator misspoke some of the President's words to some Polish officials, causing the U.S. to look rather silly. Now, in keeping with their policies of smaller government, the Republicans are offering us not one, but two candidates who are entirely capable of saying amazingly stupid and incomprehensible things all by themselves, without any translator's help. Not only does this reduce the payroll by eliminating the middle person, but it allows us, the American people to share the fun firsthand. So without any further ado, the real life sayings of George and J. Danforth.

George has a special word he uses when he hasn't a clue: can you guess it?

"Oh, the vision thing."

"blame America first crowd from the post-Vietnam thing."

"but I just can't accept the tarnished-image thing."

"let me tell you, this gender thing is history."

or to a recovering drug addict at a rehab center. . .

"Did you come here and say, 'The heck with it, I don't need this darn thing? Did you go through a withdrawal thing?'"

Of course, we shouldn't get the idea that George cannot turn a tight kind of phrase. . .

"To kind of suddenly try to get my hair colored, dance up and down in a miniskirt or something, you know, show that I've got a lot of jazz out there and drop a bunch of one-liners, I'm running for president of the United States. . . I kind of think I'm a scintillating kind of fellow."

"You judge on the record. . . How does it look in a program he called 'phony' or some one of these marvelous Boston adjectives up there about Angola."

On the subject of religion, George and Dan seem to know that most Jewish voters generally vote Democratic. So they've made a special effort to show Jewish voters they understand the issues that concern them. The Holocaust for example.

"Boy, they were big on crematoriums, weren't they?" (George in September 1987 after touring the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz.)

Or Danny, who found the Holocaust "an obscene period in our nation's history. . . this century's history. . . We all lived in this century. I didn't live in this century."

George, luckily, has a better grip on history:

"47 years ago this very day we were hit and hit hard at Pearl Harbor. And we were not ready. In a Bush Administration that lesson would not be forgotten." (George Bush, September 7, 1988.)

But George made the ultimate appeal to the Jewish voter, when, after firing seven advisors accused of anti-semitic views or actions, he said, "I hope I stand for anti-bigotry, anti-Semitism, anti-racism. This is what drives me. . ."

Of course, we shouldn't forget which ticket this election knows their foreign affairs. . .

"We stand with you, sir. We love your adherence to democratic principle and to the democratic processes. And we will not leave you in isolation." (George to then-Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos, circa 1981.)

"Bobby Knight told me, 'there is nothing that a good defense cannot beat a better offense.' In other words, a good offense wins." (J. Danforth on the defensive system SDI.)

"They gave me a boy to play tennis with." (Former Ambassador Bush on how he got along with the Chinese people.)

George also has a strong grip on domestic issues.

"Yeah, I think there's some social change going on. AIDS, for example, uh, is a, is a, uh, disease for, disease of poverty in a sense. It's where the hopelessness is. It's bigger than that of course. . ."

But despite all this erudite knowledge of political considerations, George has a feel for earthier, more sensual matters. . .

"The caribou love it. (The Alaska Pipeline) They rub up against it and they have babies. There are more Caribou in Alaska than you can shake a stick at."

"He makes Lesley Stahl look like a pussy!" (George after his famed encounter with Dan Rather.)

...especially when he speaks of the President himself. .

"We've had triumphs, we've made some mistakes, we've had some sex. . ."

George is very loyal to the President these days.

"I want to try to keep it that I don't go out and do something to tear down and be negative about the President. It may not always be that easy."

"He will go down in my book as the greatest governor of the State of California." (Oops, George was talking about current governor George Deukmejian.)

As for the charge that George is too preppy, well. . .

"I don't know whether it was a big squash racket, or a, looked like a big stick." (The item George's dad used to "discipline" him.)

When asked to explain his poor showing in Iowa, Bush replied, "A lot of people who support me were at an air show, they were off a their daughter's coming-out party, they were out teeing up at the golf course in that all-important last round and they were turning out at high schools reunions."

Does George really say all these things?

"Hey, listen, it's Freudian."

"They always bring 'em by me. I say to them, 'Be sure I look at it.'" (George on quotes written by his staff.)

And what of J. Danforth Quayle? Admittedly, he hasn't had as much time as George, but still he speaks with "precise precision." I think he himself put it the best when asked in last week's debate what he would do if he had to assume the Presidency.

"First I'd. . . first I'd say a prayer for myself and for the country that I'm about to lead." (I think we'd all join in on that second prayer.)

One would hope that the American people might begin to catch on to the inability of these men to clearly articulate themselves (or to clearly think for that matter.) But, as Bush's mentor President Reagan once so sagely said, "Facts are a stupid thing." *

Frats

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"I thought they were going to kill me," Chasen said. "Public Safety wouldn't help. They said, 'It's just DKE, they do this every year.' I watched [DKE brothers] stop every car and the Public Safety car and threaten them."

Chasen cited other examples of fraternities' activities such as creating public disturbances while "collecting" pledges, advertising pornos as a main party attraction, and making fun of pictures of "unattractive" women on campus.

"They try to get froshwomen to come to their turf and get drunk," Chasen said. "When you don't live with women, you don't respect them as human beings anymore, just as people to try to get to come to parties."

Chasen classified joining fraternities as joining an "old boys" network. "They get jobs for each other," she said. "The country is run by this powerful network which excludes women."

Both George Bush and Dan Quayle are DKE brothers. Chasen maintained that especially during "Hell Week" fraternities break blue book codes and the law. "They wouldn't be able to get away with the things they do [on campus] down on Main Street," she said. "A lot of women on campus feel uncomfortable just walking down Frat Row. [Brothers] yell out things from the windows."

This happened to Ellen Feder '89 last fall. "I was walking by DKE and heard some whistling but I didn't think anything of it," Feder said. "Then I realized it was towards me. A man in a window said something like, 'Lookin' good today, aren't ya?' It really affected me. I realized later I had been harassed. After that I started slumping. It affected me physically."

"I felt violated," she said. "It seemed like a little thing but it wasn't."

The University has publicly recognized this sexist behavior but is still allowing fraternities to exist.

"Women are hurt to the extent these fraternities teach sexism, whether flagrant or subtle," the RLTF report reads. "Men are hurt if they are led to believe they are more important, more entitled to privilege, and more to be taken seriously than women—because they will fail to appreciate half of humanity and, in the process, misunderstand themselves."

The Task Force deemed the best action for the administration to take was "persuasion." According to Darrigrand, former President Colin Campbell held meetings last year with both alumni groups and undergraduates on the merits and values of coeducation, but the situation is not currently being monitored.



"I would guess it will be handed along to Bill Chace with his full plate of responsibilities," Darrigrand said.

The University has a "serious commitment" to coeducating the fraternities, Morgan said. At their May 1988 meeting, the Board of Trustees passed an endorsement of the entire report including the decision of coeducating the fraternities. "This was a chance for the Board of Trustees to say this is not just a Colin Campbell issue," Darrigrand said.

If the problem is not resolved by persuasion or encouragement, Morgan suggested that actions the University may take would not be pleasant. "The administration has financial leverage over several of the fraternities—mortgages, loans," Morgan said. "They could make life very difficult for some of the fraternities financially."

"The University reserves the right to deny fraternities

housing status, but that would be a very drastic step," he said. "The University has the ability to make life impossible for fraternities. Nobody wants to see anything that heavy-handed happen."

Darrigrand acknowledged that much progress has not been made in converting the all-male fraternities coeducational, but she said she did not see this as something that could happen overnight. The Task Force recommended that in 1990 another review of the issue should be conducted to "assess the progress that has been made, the effect of changes that have been made or not made, and consider how best to implement the goals set forth above." Basically, it means that nothing will happen until three years has passed.

"I think that three year time limit still exists," Darrigrand said.*

Juan Segarra Palmer Discusses Independence Movement Puerto Rican/Hartford 15 Defendant

By Andy Russell

The following are excerpts from an interview conducted recently with Juan Segarra Palmer. Segarra Palmer was arrested on August 30th, 1985 and not released on bail until March of 1988. He is one of the five defendants currently on trial in Hartford. He has been active for many years not only in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, but also in the struggles against the Vietnam War.

Hermes: This case is obviously an attempt to crush the independence movement in Puerto Rico. To what extent has it backfired? I can't imagine the government being happy with the response they're getting.

Segarra Palmer: There's no question that all the political objectives of this case have backfired, and will continue to backfire more as the case continues. The trial itself is the result of a totally counter-productive policy, which is repression. In using this particular judicial means of repression, it backfires in a very particular way in that it poisons and corrupts the entire legal system and also exposes it for being rather than just a fair framework but for what it really is, which is a political tool.

It has become exposed on what we consider to be the three fronts we're struggling in. One, of course, is the homefront of Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico, from the date of the arrests, August 30th [1985], there was a clear understanding that this was a political case, because the government said that it had arrested the *Macheteros*. By definition, that made it a political case. The government, in the way it made the arrests, and it's whole propaganda or publicity blitz, had the intention of isolating the people whom they arrested from the rest of the independence movement. And number two, it had the intention of intimidating, terrorizing, supporters or potential supporters.

Both of these objectives failed dismally. They did not isolate us and they did not intimidate people. In fact, one of the clearest indicators that we were not isolated is the fact that, a couple of weeks after the arrest, *El Nuevo Dia*, which is the most conservative newspaper in Puerto Rico, and also one of the most widely circulated, ran a poll conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, which is a nationally known in the United States polling firm, and their results reflected that 44% of the people felt that we were patriots. They might not have agreed with our methods, but they felt we were patriots.

Just recently, with the pretty much barbaric abuses the government has committed against *Filiberto Ojeda Rios* (see main article)... the President of the Senate in Puerto Rico has made statements regarding the political nature of the case... (reads from an article from the *San Juan Star*) 'Senate President Miguel Hernandez Agosto, criticized the US district courts for its treatment of *Filiberto Ojeda Rios*... I don't share *Ojeda Rios*' ideas, but I must defend the right to any citizen to fair treatment under the law... it is surprising that a person who has no criminal background be denied bail.' So, that type of statement, before even trial, shows that in terms of isolating us they have totally failed...

Hermes: That the federal government totally ignores

this outcry from Puerto Rico just shows exactly where Puerto Rico stands.

Segarra Palmer: Well, that's what happens. In South Africa, they don't care if the entire black community is outraged; the apartheid regime doesn't care - it's irrelevant; but of course, the South African regime is an international outcast and has never made any pretense of preaching to the rest of the world about human rights or political rights or democracy. The United States has made that pretense and that facade and therefore is more vulnerable to this type of criticism and more likely to have to respond. Then, of course, another indicator (of the US government failure to isolate the defendants) is the fact that the most militant marches in the last three years in Puerto Rico have been the August 30th marches (commemorating the arrests of the defendants)... so they clearly have not been able to isolate or intimidate the movement.

The second front that is important to us is the international front, particularly because we are a small country... and we're fighting against an empire with a population, even though the main population does not share the interests of the military-industrial complex, of 250 million... Therefore, the moral weapon, the political weapon, is very important to our struggle... For fourteen years in a row, the UN Decolonization Committee has called on the US to give Puerto Rico the right to self-determination and independence. The last three years the issue of August 30th has been raised at the UN.

As a matter of fact, *Filiberto* was invited to speak at the last hearings and he wasn't allowed to go by Judge Claire, so someone else read his statement. In addition, the Non-aligned nations, at their recent meeting in Cyprus, in September passed a resolution, and I quote, "Reiterating our concern over the reports of Puerto Rican patriots imprisoned in the United States and Puerto Rico." So you're talking about a movement of over 120 countries. They know about *Filiberto*'s case, about *Alejandra Torres*' case (a Puerto Rican prisoner of war arrested in 1983, who has suffered both physical and psychological torture while in jail) they know about our case. So we clearly have good support there... (also) Amnesty International has decided to look into the case for *Filiberto*.

And then, of course, the third front is the United States. And here we've had a very tough fight, because the government and the media have pretty much from day one been parroting this terrorist line to pretty much cover up for their own actions and try to isolate us. Here, because people really don't know us or don't know the history of the *Macheteros*, and because I almost hate to say this - but because the previous actions by certain groups in the independence movement did cause civilian casualties, it may have created a bad name for the movement as a whole. And, of course, there's the fact that for people to question the case of Puerto Rico they have to question the whole military-industrial complex, the entire system of domination that this country is organized around.

That, of course, is very threatening to a comfortable lifestyle - you have to question your whole values - it's very much a challenge. And it is in fact reflected by CIA director William Webster. When he was at his Senate Confirmation hearing, and they asked him what he learned as director of the FBI that would help him at the CIA, he said that "Puerto Rico is the achilles heel of the United States." Puerto Rico is such a lynch-pin, a fulcrum, and to address it you really have to expand your consciousness and your understanding of what it's really all about.

Generating support in the United States is both our greatest obstacle and our greatest opportunity. There was a very interesting moment at the voir dire of the jurors, where we had only fifteen minutes per attorney to question the entire panel of jurors. In those seventy-five minutes, we really made the jurors think. The question was asked of all the jurors - "what would you do if your country was invaded by a foreign power? Would you resist?" and it was a unanimous answer - yes! And then the next question was "well, would you just go to demonstration or vote against the invasion, or would you be willing to fight?" and the vast majority said they would be willing to fight, and, of course, that's what the case is all about that goes to the essence of the case.

Previously, Len Weinglass (Segarra Palmer's lawyer) told the jurors "well, my client believes that his country is different from the United States, is separate by history, by culture, by language, and it should be politically independent. Do you think that is un-American or anti-American?" A number of jurors, led by one woman, said "Yes, I think this is the greatest country in the world and why should anyone want to be independent?" However, the next day, when the judge questioned her further, because we said that if she believes the defendant's actions are anti-American this would reflect some bias, and he asked her, and this is very curious, because the rest of the voir dire had made her think about it so much, she said, "your honor, I thought about this all night, and I thought, well, if our country fought for it's independence, why should I hold it against somebody if they want theirs?" And really, I think that's it in a nutshell.

They key message that we would like to be able to transmit, to the jury and to the American people during the trial (even given the fact that we have no chance of a fair trial and the judge will probably not give us the opportunity to present our case the way we would want to) is that independence for Puerto Rico is not anti-American, but in fact, pro-American, if by pro-American we are talking about the American people. If we're talking about the Pentagon as American, no, independence for Puerto Rico is anti-Pentagon; independence for Puerto Rico is not for the benefit of big business - we share the interests of the average American citizen. What keeps us under horrible conditions of colonialism is the same thing that has caused the destruction of the family farm in this country - it's the same thing that spends billions on arms while at the same time not spending it on homeless, on children and education. That's the key message. *

CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING:

- * 13% of the land on the 35 by 100 mile island is occupied by US military bases.
- * US nuclear arms are used and stored in Puerto Rico in violation of the Treaty of Tlatolco, which prohibits nuclear weapons in Latin America.
- * The island's unemployment rate is 45%.
- * 40% of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age are sterilized as a result of US depopulation programs.
- * The US Congress retains power to legislate for Puerto Rico without the consent of its people. Puerto Ricans on the Island are not permitted to vote for President or congressional representatives.
- * In 1917 the Jones Act forced citizenship on the Puerto Rican people, along with the draft and World War I. Puerto Ricans have been forced to serve in all subsequent US wars.
- * Implementation of US-designed 2020 plan (named for the year of its anticipated completion) will transform the economy and physical terrain of Puerto Rico to conform to US strategic needs. The plan will subject the island to large-scale strip mining and deforestation, contamination of water resources, further reduction of its population, and expansion of US military presence.
- * As part of its attack on the independence movement, the FBI trains the colonial police responsible for bombings, assaults and assassinations of independence and labor activists.

—The Sedition Committee

Hartford 15

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U.S. American, and Luz Berrios Berrios, pled guilty to the charges against them soon after jury selection began. Weinberg, a lawyer, pled guilty to a misdemeanor charge, which enabled him to continue to practice law, and promised to cooperate with the government if called as a witness. Berrios, pled guilty to the felony charge against her of having helped distribute approximately twenty thousand dollars worth of stolen money to Puerto Ricans in Hartford.

In 1985, on Three Kings Day, a Latin American religious holiday, three people, who are alleged to be three of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15, distributed presents and cash worth over \$20,000, randomly to members of the Hartford Puerto Rican community. The government later traced some of this money to the Wells Fargo robbery. The Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 are considered heroes by many within Puerto Rico and Hartford.

Berrios, who had already served 16 months in pre-trial detention, can be sentenced to no more than five years in jail, with the time already served applying to that sentence. She pled guilty in the hope of not serving any more time, so that she will be able to stay with her children, as it seems likely that her husband and their father, Juan Segarra Palmer, will be sentenced to a prison term. Berrios, however, has refused to testify against her co-defendants. The trial of seven has now been reduced to five.

The federal government has spent over \$10 million on this case and has attempted to portray the accused as "dangerous terrorists," and crush the Puerto Rican independence movement. Despite this, they have failed to intimidate or destroy the independence movement - far

from it, their actions have only further served to show the repressive and colonial nature of the US government. The defendants feel that regardless of whether they are convicted, they have won, by highlighting the Puerto Rican struggle against colonial domination.

For information about attending the trial or about the case in general, call 638-1348. *

On October 1, several Wesleyan students attended a conference at Hunter College in New York City that was sponsored by Students and Youth Against Racism (SAYAR). The conference focused on uniting students, youth, and other activists over racism, sexism, homophobia, and imperialism, both here in the U.S. and abroad. This may seem like a lot to tackle, but that's what this movement is all about: demonstrating the interconnectedness of oppressions and the need to organize into a unified coalition.

So how to take concrete action? On November 5, the KKK and the skinheads (a young neo-fascist group) are planning a major rally in Philadelphia for "White Power Day." Show your outrage: join us in a counter-demonstration to stop this march from happening. If interested, contact Juanita (638-1245) or Andy (638-1348). There will also be a meeting for those interested on Wednesday, October 12 in Meeting Room 1 of the Campus Center at 8:30 p.m.

This action is being largely organized by the All People's Congress and members of SAYAR as well as on campus by SAAG.

Kopkind

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people, and students, and environmentalists. So who does he have on the stage with him? He had two old county councilmen and a state rep and a state senator. It should have been a rally, it should have been outside with some environmental person up there. These are tremendous issues for mobilization. There is a way to mobilize the popular ballot and they are not going to be mobilized by some state rep that they've never even heard of. He refuses to play constituency politics. In a purely political sense he hasn't used the only thing that the Democrats have, that's what the Democratic campaign has to be about. It has to be about expanding the party, it has to be about inclusion, it has to be about empowerment, when the Republican campaign is about tax breaks for the rich.

Hermes: You talked about how Jackson people got together to plan strategy for the next four years. Can you talk a little about what the strategy is? Have you heard anything about the formation of a political action committee?

Kopkind: Yeah, in fact I think it has already been formed. There is a big debate now about what kind of institutional structures there ought to be to include the various elements of this campaign and these constituencies. And I think the general feeling is that it would not work with just the rainbow coalition with Jackson at the head as a sort of permanent leader a sort of quasi-pre-party formation. The local rainbows are extremely unstable, volatile and in many cases complicated organizations composed of your standard Black politicians who act like standard White politicians in many ways but in other ways different, plus Black activists who are not really elected officials or don't want to be, who are at odds with the politicians, plus white leftists. And the elements of the coalition change from place to place and year to year and hour to hour, and you always have to find common ground which is some sort of compromise about demands and sometimes it's really difficult. What can you do? How can you get upper-middle-class-gay-professionals from New York in with Black homeless people in Milwaukee and say you have a common interest? Jackson does this better than I've ever heard anyone do it but it's still really hard and on certain things he still hasn't made much of a dent at all. The coalition is really volatile and I don't think that he wants to be the leader, so they are trying to figure out how he can have an independent base that's still coordinated with this other political activities and so the P.A.C. idea is what he's doing now.

Hermes: How much of the white vote did Jackson garner and who was it?

Kopkind: I don't have the final figure, I could be really wrong in this. I think it was around 15 or 16% which is I think twice as much as it was the year before. That is 15 to 16% of the Democratic vote; now that's an interesting figure because you have to remember that up until Pennsylvania, the total vote was split among 3,4,5,6 candidates, and places like Oregon where he was up against Dukakis one to one he got like 45% of the vote and there can't be more than 5 or 6% Black people in Oregon so he must have got about 25 or 30% of the white vote, maybe more. In a place like Vermont where there are hardly any Black people at all he did rather well. I think that white liberals split and the vast majority of people who call themselves white liberals voted for the white liberal candidate.

Hermes: Like Michael Dukakis?

Kopkind: Mike Dukakis or whoever was before him. Paul Simon was the white liberal of choice for about a month. It was like anybody but the black guy and then there was one and it was Dukakis. Let's face it, it's the only reason Mike Dukakis is up there. He's the consensus alternative to this racial nightmare. I don't know how well he was able to do with the white class-conscious working people. In some places I think he did rather well but not ultimately as well as they thought. I remember speaking to Jackson's major issues strategy person for most of the campaign. I talked to him the night of the Wisconsin primary, and he said we should have won this one, we could have won it. I don't think he could have but that's what he thought then. They thought they could win it because of the support they were getting in these white working class areas.

I was at the convention in Atlanta about twenty five yards from the podium while Jackson was making his speech. And I was right next to the New Jersey delegates on one side, the D.C. delegation on the other, and all of a sudden I looked to my left and there was Bill Bradley, neo-liberal par excellence. Standing on a chair, he's tall already, towering over the convention, he had grabbed a Jackson 88 poster he was holding it high above his head waving it yelling, "Jesse! Jesse! Jesse!" And then an hour later he was voting against anything Jackson ever stood for. They got caught up in the incredible emotion, in Jackson's appeal. Jackson got better and better and better, usually candidates get worse and worse. He really talked about things that never get talked about in politics in this country. He talked about work and the experience of people's lives. And this released a tremendous amount of

energy that no one knew was there, that was the draw of it all. But then other things take over in the privacy of the polling booth...

Hermes: Jackson also spoke about changing the process whereby delegates are chosen. Do you know if he's doing anything to change the process, to get the system changed?

Kopkind: There were many elements of the Atlanta pact and one of them was enlarging the Democratic National Committee and doing certain structural things to the party which would lead to more representation for people who are now unrepresented, and in fact that's happening. What's going to happen to the Democratic Party is really going to effect the composition of the Democratic Party and the electorate. I was looking at Jackson the other day, and it occurred to me that he really didn't want Dukakis to win, although he's going around saying he does. I was thinking if I were Jackson would I want Dukakis to win? If he wins then Jackson has to wait for him to fuck up, which could be a matter of hours. But then it's tricky business; does he say this administration is washed up? Does the media then jump on him as a sore loser, splitting the party etc? It's a tricky business how to build his own political base or to keep building his own base while his colleague in the Democratic Party is in a position of power. But if Dukakis loses, Dukakis is discredited, probably more than Mondale. The only competition that Jackson has for being the leading speaker in the Democratic politics is Mario Cuomo, and he's been discredited in some ways because he plays such a silly role, and a bad governor. Cuomo can't make his move soon because his whole strategy was to say he didn't want to be president, so that Dukakis would lose or fail and he'd take over. Jackson is in a real good position if Dukakis loses; he's already called the conscience of the party, now he becomes it's spokesman. And also, everyone is saying that what's wrong with the Dukakis campaign is that it's not saying the things that the Jackson campaign was saying.

Hermes: How much of his campaign was running against the other candidates and how much of it was running against the sense that he's not electable, a serious candidate?

Kopkind: Well, seriousness was also a code word to people who didn't like what he wanted to do. People said he can't be serious and talk about class. So the defense of him as a serious candidate was also a defense of the legitimacy of the issues he was raising, they're logically inextricable. He became a serious candidate by his own efforts, he was not dubbed a serious candidate. When his position became successful in electoral terms, when he began drawing crowds and making news, when he couldn't be avoided, that's what made it a serious campaign. He was always serious, but then everyone had to come to that. I don't know how much he was running against racism, there's no way to tell these things. A much more assimilated black person with much more centrist politics would still have problems because he was black, but they would not be the same problems. People say they're doing one thing and they believe they're doing one thing, but actually when you analyze it you realize they're doing something entirely more complicated. If a white candidate had made a reference like "Hymietown," it would not have been "Hymietown," it would have been some other word. But, it was always known that Richard Nixon and attorney general John Mitchell had been in this incredibly anti-Semitic law firm that would not hire Jews, and it was known he was a big anti-Semite. This didn't stop a lot of white Jews from supporting Nixon or considering him legitimate, or not even talking about that issue. That fact that "Hymietown" came out of black lips, this became an obstacle that cannot and will never be removed. But if you talk to Jewish liberals who can't stand him, they'll say they can't stand him because he's an anti-Semite, which he's not. But if you said that this had to do because he's a black anti-Semite they would say, oh no that's not true, we're so liberal, we were all for the civil rights movement, we marched at Selma.

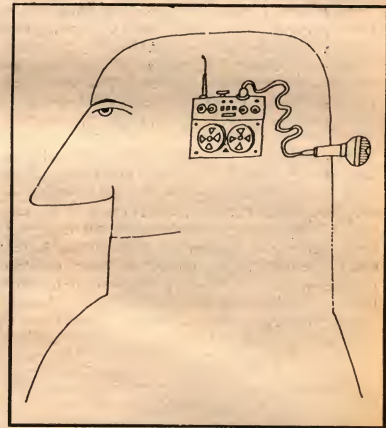
Hermes: Jackson has picked up a lot of support in the Arab community for what he has to say about the Palestinian question.

Kopkind: He always talks about anti-Arabism and he always includes Arab-Americans when he talks about the rainbow. He's very good about always including the elements of the coalition when he goes down the list, even that is a kind of empowerment. He talks about gays and lesbians being part of the coalition, and he talks about them not only when he's at a rally in Greenwich Village but when he's in Central Valley of California and New Hampshire. During the primaries when he was going around campaigning, the local constituency groups would put out position papers and their demands and then when he was in town he would hold a press conference and he would endorse whatever their platform was. This was great for the constituency groups who would get all the power that comes out of a national political campaign and the protection too, which is not inconsiderable, especially

for really marginalized groups.

Hermes: So if that's the case actually how important is it that Jackson didn't win the nomination, as long as the campaign is still reaching people?

Kopkind: You have to do something; in politics you can't just do nothing or stay still. He's chosen the show which is national electoral politics, and that's where the real power is. Progressive forces have to operate on a broad strategic front. And as it's operated in this particular phase, he is very important to it.*



ANC

continued from page 4

Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, the ANC's current head, were members. The current attitude of the ANC towards the Communist Party is one that rejects orthodox African Nationalism and accepts all regardless of race or political beliefs who are dedicated to "the removal of race discrimination and the attainment of democratic rights on the basis of the Freedom Charter" (Nelson Mandela), into the ANC.

The ANC receives most of its military aid and supplies from East Bloc countries, with the rest coming from African states. The ANC also receives much non-military aid from Scandinavian countries and the UN.

The Freedom Charter was adopted in December 1953 at the annual conference of the ANC. It contains a ten-point program for the future of South Africa. Its opening statement declares: "that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people..." This document has been adopted by many anti-apartheid groups within South Africa as well as many black trade unions and other organizations. It embodies the ANC's commitment to fight for a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The ANC today is without any doubt the organization that most black South Africans look to as their representative. It was greatly reinvigorated by the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings, which sent thousands of young South Africans into exile who were welcomed by the ANC's network of "freedom schools," camps and organizations. The ANC is continuing and accelerating its use of guerilla tactics within South Africa. Through its calls for boycotts and sanctions of South Africa and its call for universal disinvestment of foreign corporations from South Africa (and for divestment) the ANC seeks to make white South Africa a pariah nation and thus push it into negotiations leading to peaceful dismantlement of apartheid and the establishment of one person, one vote rule.

At the same time, the ANC seeks to gain the capacity to wage full scale war against the apartheid regime. They realize that this may be the only option that will end apartheid and the government's continuing murder of thousands of blacks in South Africa, as well as the political and economic destabilization of the surrounding black states. At present, the ANC is far from being an effective military force, even at the small scale effort in which they are engaged.

The ANC must also attempt to deal with the challenge of other organized groups as well as that of the "comrades", the semi-organized young people of the black townships, who face apartheid's iron fist on a daily basis. The comrades understandably have no sympathy black-white cooperation or any compromise with South African whites. For these young people, the ANC, is far too moderate, not to mention Desmond Tutu. The ANC must meet this challenge if it is to remain in the forefront of the liberation struggle.*

Divestment Movement

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their views. After a lag, in 1988 SAAG's influence began expanding. Publicity increased and there were greater turnouts at SAAG meetings; SAAG continued with its study groups, videos, and lectures series. As the situation in South Africa worsened, the desire to promote change at Wesleyan grew.

SAAG feel divestment is not an end in itself, and working on a broader regional base is necessary; since South Africa destabilizes many other nations, the struggle against Apartheid must be conducted on various levels.

The Report on the Meeting of the Social Implications Subcommittee states that "[some] regular members of the board expressed the opinion that if Wesleyan divested all holdings in South Africa that the issue of Apartheid would be forgotten." One member of SAAG called this presumption "insulting" because the purpose of SAAG is to continue the struggle. . . divestment is just one important step."

SAAG continued to attend SISC meetings throughout early 1988, providing information for the subcommittee. At the final informational meeting between SAAG and the SISC, SAAG believed that they had influenced the members. A SAAG representative explained that SISC members were seeing the moral justifications behind divestment, and SAAG came out of the session with high hopes. However, the SISC was given a new date on which the vote would be held, and SAAG was not told of this change. This neglect was justified by the board because the new meeting during which the vote would occur "was not intended for information gathering." The result of this meeting with the trustees without SAAG present was a vote determining a crucial decision: the SISC presented an interim report rather than a recommendation for policy change which a Sept. 1988 SAAG/Divest Now publication claims: "... contained 'anti-divestment' information not presented during all previous 'information gathering' meetings in which SAAG had participated. SAAG members claimed new information was presented at the final meeting from which SAAG had been denied admittance."

SAAG members were upset by this report and used it as an issue to mobilize around. Approximately 200 students rallied at the April 16 board of trustees meeting where the Board of Trustees were to decide whether to accept or reject the SISC report. Students strung all the surrounding trees and bushes with a tangle of red yarn, a "web of conspiracy", symbolizing the connection they saw between Wesleyan, apartheid, racism, and death of black South Africans. Students also conducted a "die-in." They physically blocked the trustees by lying "dead" in their path, symbolizing the deaths they felt the trustees' policies are causing. The police were called, but no one was arrested.

According to a SAAG member the group was so invigorated they didn't want to go back to their usual routine—they were impatient for action. There was some fear within the group, however, that some supporters were relating only with the divestment movement, and that

some of SAAG's goals were being lost in the shuffle. A new group was formed called Divest Now! It was a spontaneous creation that resulted from this immediate desire for action. The agendas of Divest Now and SAAG would complement one another, but they were intended to remain distinct.

On April 18, 1988 at 8 a.m. about 80 students began a sit-in at South College. The sit-in continued for 16 days, with daily rallies in front of South College. During that time, the SISC held an open forum for the discussion of University policy. At that forum students called for a meeting of trustees before the end of the school year. When the trustees refused to comply with these wishes, students blocked all entrances to South College; there were 113 arrests. Those who were not arrested continued the sit-in for one more day.

In May of 1988 the board implemented its current policy and divested from two companies.

Divest Now! is currently an independent organization striving for divestment. They organized the rally that took place on October 1 at the first Board of Trustees meeting this year. They are planning more rallies and members are circulating a petition addressed to the new president,

William Chace.

SAAG's current focus is once again on providing education. They intend to continue with regular speakers and videos. The South African Tutorial they established is still helping to inform students about southern Africa. One of SAAG's main goals for this year is to expand their work from their local level to regional or perhaps national involvement in order to have more impact on the struggle against Apartheid. Recently SAAG sent representatives to a regional conference to help plan a strategy for the year.

Nexus is a new group here that was designed to disseminate news about southern Africa. Utilizing international contacts and various news mediums, Nexus provides up-to-date information on the current situation in South Africa, and also a historical background.

A member of the 1983 board of trustees described the trustees' view when he stated, "the business of the University is education, not social change." The divestment movement on campus has been motivated by a sense of moral responsibility to promote social change by helping to abolish the oppression of Apartheid. Strategies and members may have changed, but the moral commitment, goals, and ideals remain.*



Campaigns

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the Maryland Alliance for Responsible Investment, and the D.C. Reinvestment Alliance," says Ray Davis, DC-SCAR's director. "They're community people that have been saying for years, these banks are not lending to our area—they're redlining Black communities, Hispanic communities, then they're giving loans to whites that are coming back in to gentrify some of these areas."

One tactic used by the SCAR and community activists, says Davis, has been to file protest with the Federal Reserve Board that the banks were not adequately serving their communities, automatically stalling the banks from completions mergers or opening new branches. Faced with the threat of an indefinite delay on expansion—along with the bad publicity generated by the campaign—the banks agreed to cut their South African ties, and to extend loans to low-income communities. Last year, the Maryland National Bank pledged \$50 million in loans; Riggs National, \$40 million.

SCAR's current campaign is focused on getting Crestar Bank to extend \$120 million in loans to low-income communities. "Sure, \$40 million, \$30 million isn't bad," says Davis, but "really when you think about it, it's change, when you're talking about really developing a community. I mean, you can spend that much on one building. So the initial proposal for Crestar was \$120 million. They came back with sixty." Negotiations have currently broken off, with SCAR and the community groups planning further action.

Elombe Brath of New York-based Patrice Lumumba Coalition, which since 1975 has been organizing in sup-

port of African liberation movements, including helping organize cultural boycotts of South Africa and conducting international forums in the African-American community, sees a new eagerness for multiissue organizing. "Before people didn't want to discuss these questions," he says. "Now they're having all kinds of meetings. I'm invited everywhere to speak on these questions." Brath says he recently spoke to CISPES, "trying to point out where the struggle [in El Salvador] has precedents in Africa. . . The Duarte election was nothing more than just the same kind of smoke screen that happened in Africa."

Of particular importance regarding the Shell boycott, Zinn stresses, is that "we have successfully connected a domestic policy issue to a foreign policy issue—how multinational corporations are supplying repressive regimes abroad, and also oppressing workers here at home. Those same multinational corporations which mine coal in the United States are putting pressure on our members to lower their standard of living to the lowest international common denominator. We obviously don't want to have apartheid labor conditions in the United States, but the logical conclusion of these multinational operating practices is to do exactly that."

Going beyond simple opposition to apartheid to broader movements is especially important, says Brath, as the focus shifts from the dismantling of apartheid to support for a democratic replacement. Says Brath, "Bush or Dukakis or even Bentsen will tell you they're against apartheid. George Schultz will tell you that. But when it comes to what are you going to replace apartheid with, that's where the anti-communism comes in."*

CT ACT OUT

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tion against AIDS. Whealon called the ads offensive because they emphasize condom use instead of sexual abstinence. However, many of the advertisements do include abstinence messages. Another objection to the campaign came from Governor William O'Neill, who ordered one of the television advertisements censored for being "needlessly explicit." The ad depicted the outline of a man and a woman's legs underneath a set of bedsheets; the voiceover was a dialogue between a man and a woman about the necessity of condoms. The two bodies were clearly enfolded by separate bedsheets and were not touching; the "explicit" footage showed the two bodies moving toward each other. O'Neill claimed he had not been influenced by Whealon, but the censored ad was one that did not contain an abstinence message. This particular TV spot was then rejected by Connecticut's NBC station, WVIT-TV, Channel 30. WVIT had also rejected, but later accepted, a television ad in which an older brother hands a condom to his kid sister while warning her about the dangers of unprotected sex. The travails of the Department of Health Services in trying to win approval for their new anti-AIDS campaign points up the conflicting agendas of those forces in Connecticut who have a responsibility to educate the general public about AIDS. Hopefully, CT ACT OUT will build enough steam through their own media-directed efforts to exert influence on the way AIDS and other gay and lesbian issues are shaped and addressed in Connecticut.*

Editorial Redux

Survey of *Hermes* editorials over the past five years on the issue of divestment:

Nothing short of a complete repudiation of South Africa's policies can serve the process of de-legitimation. The imperative for Wesleyan is therefore, complete divestiture from corporate holding in South Africa. —*Hermes*, February 14, 1983

When Wesleyan's trustees met on campus last week, the gathering ended with a familiar refrain: student protests notwithstanding, Wesleyan had no intention of divesting from its South Africa-related stock holdings. —*Hermes*, February 15, 1984

Meanwhile, even in the face of an institutionally-sanctioned study which found divestiture fiscally "acceptable," Campbell has consistently refused student demands that he recommend divestment to the Board of Trustees. —*Hermes*, March 9, 1984

Q: How many committees does it take for Wesleyan to divest?

A: Just one more...

It is time for the students of Wesleyan to end their constructive engagement with the administration. . . So long as we act as partners in the farce of "studying all the options," we can count on volumes of rhetoric. . . —*Hermes*, October 2, 1985

Protests involving the actual powers supporting Apartheid would be a step forward equally as important as was adopting civil disobedience. —*Hermes*, November 1, 1985

But these reforms have only come when students begin pushing at the bounds of "acceptable" dissent—blockading North College, speaking to tours, conducting guerrilla theater, and so on. And until the administration shows a willingness to allow students a meaningful say in the organization and operation of our community at Wesleyan, working outside the system will undoubtedly be the only way for students to effect further change. —*Hermes*, February 23, 1988

Once again, the administration has shown that it will not be motivated to act in a socially constructive way unless students maintain constant pressure. . . This is a pattern that has occurred over and over the past ten years: the trustees have been more than willing to appear open to divestment, only to balk at actually taking steps. —*Hermes*, April 13, 1988